



NUTS

FOR

BUTLER

TO CRACK.

No. 3.

BY CHARLES W. FELT,

FIRST LECTURER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS STATE GRANGE.

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THE POINT.

It is not to be imagined that Butler, or his friends, either seriously expect or desire his election as Governor. But, if possible, an impression will be given that he is gaining ground, and, after election, that he has gained. The point, therefore, of all our labor this year, is to cut off the slightest opportunity for the pretence of "a gain over last year."

NORTHBOROUGH, MASS., Sept. 25, 1879.

THE SERIES.

No. 1 of this series of pamphlets was issued in 1876, when Butler attempted to show the Republicans of the Seventh Congressional District that he was a better Republican than those of us who opposed him.

No. 2 was issued in 1878, and was designed to show Grangers, Sovereigns of Industry, Co-operators, and other reasonable reformers, the quality of Butler as a reformer.

Political committees will be supplied with copies by addressing the author at 28 School Street, room 20, Boston.

BUTLER vs. THE PEOPLE.

BUTLER pretends that he is for the people; but every thing he has done is really against the people. Last year he sought to control the ship of state, though after election he found he had only been swinging from the Davitts; but his audacity seldom fails him, and this year he proposes to be ushered into the office of Governor as a mere stepping-stone to the presidency of the United States.

That such pretensions are possible shows the need of organizations of our farmers and mechanics, like the Grangers and the Sovereigns of Industry, strong enough to frown down the packing of caucuses and other well-known and nefarious, but yet effectual, means of controlling party action. Butler pretends to great wisdom about money; but the chief wisdom that he has displayed in that way has been by charging exorbitant fees, which have enriched himself, and left others poor indeed. In this pamphlet I propose to speak of Butler as I have known him; and one of the strongest causes of complaint that I have personally against him is, that, having asked him a question in a public meeting in Marlborough in 1876, he promised to answer that and other questions at the close of the meeting, but when that time came was very careful to avoid them. Now Butler, like most lawyers, is very fond of putting hard questions to witnesses upon the stand; and it is no more than fair that he in turn should be served with a series of interrogatories which he can answer at his leisure.

Benjamin F. Butler will now take the stand. There is no need of administering the oath; for we shall not call upon him to make answers, because, if he did answer, we should have to exercise our judgment about believing him.

1. Benjamin, you have recently told the people of this Commonwealth, in your "letter of acceptance" to your two boys, William A. Simmons and Roland G. Usher, that all you want is to bring us back to the honesty and simplicity of the times of Franklin and Washington. But did you not tell the people of Acton in 1876 that Franklin was so corrupt that he charged the Government \$992 for a single breakfast?

2. You were ridiculing Civil Service Reform, and did you not picture Franklin as feasting in Paris at the public expense?

3. Did you not tell us that Washington charged the Government \$5,000 for the expenses of Martha Washington to and from Valley Forge in the winter of 1777?

4. Now, do you mean that you want to bring us all down to your ideas of the dishonesty of Franklin and Washington?

5. You aspire to be the chief of law-givers in this State; but did you not pitch a tent down in Essex County in 1866 for the sole purpose of evading a law?

6. Which is your highest ambition,—to be a law-maker or a law-evader?

7. Do you mean to tell us that Franklin and Washington were a hundred years ago mere plunderers of the treasury?

8. Are you, of all men, the one to bring us back to a course of honest and simple dealings?

9. Have not many of *your* ways been devious and crooked?

10. How did you get your nomination for Congress in the Essex District in 1866?

11. Did you promise each office to more than a dozen different persons?

12. Have you not frequently been confronted by those you duped, and been compelled to acknowledge that you treated them shabbily?

13. Is that the "efficiency of justice and economy" to which you referred last June?

14. Now, Benjamin, having got the nomination in 1866, will you tell us whether, in 1868, 1870, and 1872, you were elected by the people, or by the Eastern Railroad (with a station in nearly every town in the district), and the custom-houses, and the post-offices?

15. Some of your canvasses in Essex County were hotly contested, were they not?

16. Your last nomination there in 1874 was suspiciously unanimous; but how came it that the people were so ungrateful to you at the polls?

17. Which are you, the faithful servant of the people, or of the large corporations, or the rich men whom you compel to pay you large fees for helping to cover up their roguery?

18. Have you not pretended to serve both?

19. Do you know what your Bible says about trying to serve God and Mammon?

20. Perhaps you do not come under that head, having never attempted to serve God so much as to serve yourself?

21. Why didn't you have the pluck to try again in the Essex District in 1876?

22. Why make the pretence of a change of residence back to Lowell?

23. While member of Congress from the Essex District, were you not slightly domineering over the office-holders?

24. Did you not, upon occasion, give exhibitions of "plantation manners"?

25. Did you make any friends in the district except among the vicious and the venal?

26. Can you refer us, for your good character, to any of the leading Salem gentlemen, for instance?

27. John Sanborn was one of your unscrupulous Cape Ann neighbors, was he?

28. John has got money, has he?

29. Did he not get it, or the most of it, by saying to you practically the words of Artemas Ward, — "You scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours"?

30. John was a lobbyist at Boston and at Washington, was he?

31. John took \$125,000 of the Eastern Railroad money, did he?

32. That money was supposed to be used in lobbying the legislatures of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, was it?

33. John gave receipts for the money with private marks which it is supposed indicate how the money was used, did he?

34. Was any of that money used to help your election to Congress?

35. Will you please to give us a straight and conclusive answer to this?

36. Was this an honest and proper use of the funds of the Eastern Railroad stockholders?

37. John Sanborn had the means of getting an almost unlimited number of free passes on the Eastern Railroad, annual and trip, for parties and for individuals, did he?

38. And these passes were used to promote your election, were they?

39. You count an annual pass over a railroad like the Eastern equal to twenty-five voters, do you?

40. And that trip-passes may be used so that every one will control two doubtful votes, — is that so?

41. Now, who issued those passes?

42. Was it one Jeremiah Prescott, then superintendent of the Eastern Railroad?

43. You and Sanborn helped this man Prescott to the position of manager of the Hoosac Tunnel long after he was forced to leave the Eastern Railroad, and was pining for something to do, did you?

44. Salary, \$5,000,—the same as that of the Governor of Massachusetts?

45. You knew, then, that he caused the Hamilton disaster in 1863, and resigned, but somehow wouldn't stay resigned.

46. You knew that he caused the Revere disaster in 1871 by sending an express-train forward soon after the departure of accommodation-trains, killing some thirty people, and had at that time sent in his resignation, did you?

47. You knew that he was a broken-down railroad man; and yet you thought him good enough to serve the State of Massachusetts at the same salary as the Governor, did you?

48. And you and Sanborn are reformers?

49. Now, Benjamin, do you mean to tell us that you would have done what Gov. Talbot has done,—discharge the man Prescott without giving him a better place elsewhere, or promises of something?

50. You said in 1874 that you had many kind friends to reward; and certainly, according to your views of Civil Service Reform, it is quite the thing for you, if elected, to reward Prescott for the passes he gave your friends in 1866, '67, '68, '69, '70, '71, '72, '73, and '74,—the better part of nine years,—over the Eastern Railroad, and quite up to the time when he was forbidden issuing any more, by giving him a good fat office, the salary of which is to come from taxation of the people, is it not?

51. You would reinstate him as manager of the Hoosac Tunnel, would you not?

52. In other words, that Prescott having robbed the Eastern Railroad in your behalf, you will rob the State of Massachusetts in his behalf?

53. That is your idea of Civil Service Reform, is it?

54. But how is it that you help men like Sanborn and Prescott, who have ill-gotten gains, more or less? Why do you not help a poor man now and then?

55. HOW IS IT THAT NOTWITHSTANDING THE LABORERS IN THE RICHMOND QUARRY WORK BUT EIGHT HOURS A DAY, BY THE EFFORTS OF COL. FRENCH AND YOURSELF THE LABORERS IN THE GLOUCESTER QUARRY (BOTH GOVERNMENT QUARRIES) WORK TEN HOURS?

56. You were making speeches in Essex County at the time of the terrible Revere disaster in August, 1871; but you never took the part of a poor working-man, Mr. John Nowland, the conductor of the accommodation-train which was run into, and who could not give your minions free passes, when Prescott was crowding upon him the whole blame of that great slaughter, did you?

57. Did you help him to get reinstated?

58. You let him lose his place without a word, did you?

59. Shall we infer from this that you really do not care for the working-man, or only that you love free passes and place and power more?

60. Did you make any attempt to have Prescott indicted for manslaughter?

61. Then how could you allow Conductor Hartwell, on the Old-Colony Railroad, to be indicted for manslaughter last year for taking a highly improper risk to save a little money for a brother employee?

62. Your two sons were on the doomed train at Wollaston, were they not, coming to Boston from a cheap boat-race?

63. Do you allow your interests to control your action in such matters?

64. Your course in 1871 leads us to suppose that you will allow gross injustice to one of your constituents, a working-man, if it be inflicted by a railroad superintendent who can furnish you with free passes, and that you see no reason for charging the superintendent with manslaughter when he kills thirty people, and was guilty eight years previously of killing several others by similar criminal carelessness, but will rather help him to a fat office, does it not?

65. Then in 1878, when the lives of your two boys were endangered, you have not a word to say against the indictment of another conductor; and shall we put down these two cases as fairly showing your love for the working-man?

66. By the way, Benjamin, didn't you attempt to ride on the Boston and Maine Railroad in 1874 as if you had a free pass, but was compelled to pay your fare?

67. Possibly railroad conductors do not love you as much as you would make people think, when you have had no good word for either Nowland or Hartwell, and when your attention is known by them to have been strongly attracted to both disasters?

68. What is a railroad conductor to you so long as he can't give free passes?

69. And yet, Benjamin, you love the working-man, and you are a reformer!

70. Now, you told the writer of this in 1873 how you were working in Congress in behalf of the Western Grangers; and I want to know why you, if you have the most ordinary common sense, did not put them in a stronger position?

71. And if you could see the evils of Western railroad management, how is it that you could not see the evils of the Eastern Railroad management?

72. Why, the market value of the shares of this railroad became as low as two dollars each, and yet you saw nothing wrong?

73. In 1874 you spoke twice in public of the "powerful and prosperous Eastern Railroad," and yet you said in a speech last year that you were not accounted a fool. But have you not frequently behaved like one?

74. Some of your constituents at that time were buying Eastern Railroad shares. One solid farmer invested ten thousand dollars till it got down to forty dollars a share. A woman sold her house, and bought shares. Don't you think these two persons have good reason to set you down either as a knave or a fool?

75. Do you think that man will vote for you for Governor?

76. Do you favor woman suffrage, hoping that that woman will vote for you?

77. When the people of Lynn secured a new railroad station on Market Street, their principal street, and then were cut off from using it before a single train had stopped in it,—an act of high-handed tyranny,—what did you do?

78. Did you not act as counsel for one or two of the rich ones, take good fees, and let the people of Lynn suffer?

79. Was not your gallant Usher in the same boat?

80. And do not the times demand that we must Whittle the thing down to a fine point?

81. Did not a citizen of Lynn make a most astounding bargain with the Eastern Railroad by selling for \$200,000 a piece of land which had been taxed previously for only \$4,500?

82. Did not you act as counsel for the seller, and take a fee of \$10,000?

83. In other words, you helped to swindle the Eastern Railroad, and took a share of the gross proceeds, did you?

84. When the Eastern Railroad was on the verge of bankruptcy, you were retained, and took a fee of \$3,000, the only service rendered being a little consultation, and a forenoon before the railroad committee, making perhaps half an hour speech: is that so?

85. In other words, you took \$10,000 for cheating them in a land sale (though you, in turn, got cheated out of one-half of your fee); you got big fees for cheating the people of Lynn out of their Market-street station (though they have since got another Market-street station without your help); and you charged the railroad company \$3,000 as a retainer when they were slipping into bankruptcy, soon after you had spoken at Gloucester and Newburyport of the "powerful and prosperous Eastern Railroad." And yet you put yourself up as a candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, and ask the people to have confidence in your honesty and good judgment, do you?

86. Are you a practical joker?

87. Do you think it in good taste to joke upon such serious matters?

88. When you went up to the State House to earn a fee of \$3,000 in one forenoon, the said fee coming from the treasury of the Eastern Railroad, did you advocate the interests of the stockholders, the bondholders, or the public?

89. Did not the bondholders get the advantage?

90. And you helped them?

91. The stockholders have practically lost their stock, have they?

92. Will you tell us how Baring Bros. of London came to make large loans to the Eastern Railroad when it was in such a critical position?

93. They were cheated into the belief that the road was in a sound condition, were they not?

94. It was a clear case of cheating, was it?

95. Who cheated Baring Bros. in this matter?

96. Was it not done by friends of yours?

97. Did you not reap political advantages from such loans?

98. Where is this great loss to fall ultimately?

99. The bondholders may lose a trifle of interest; the stockholders will lose dividends for many years. But is there any way in which the wasted millions—the criminally wasted millions of Essex-county money—can be ultimately restored to stockholders and bondholders, unless it is first filched from the people?

100. Do you know that the fare from Salem to Lynn is *four cents a mile*, and that other fares on the Eastern Railroad are at a still higher rate?

101. It takes about an hour longer to walk than to ride between Lynn and Salem; and thus a man can earn twenty cents an hour by walking in competition with the Eastern Railroad?

102. What would old George Stephenson say, sixty-five years after his first success, could he see a man saving tenpence an hour in competition with his invention?

103. Is that one of the achievements of Butlerism?

104. You encourage new inventions and inventors, do you?

105. But was not an inventor forced to sue you last year?

106. Do you know that many working-men have been compelled to walk between Lynn and Salem because of the high fares?

107. You are a reformer, a friend of the people, and want to conciliate the millions of grangers; and yet you advocate railroad waste and extravagance, do you?

108. Suppose the five or ten millions of dollars wasted on the Eastern Railroad had been wasted in a manufacturing company, would you have advocated an attempt to make the people pay the loss by putting a high

price on the goods, and by passing laws compelling the people to buy those goods?

109. That is what you did in regard to the Eastern Railroad, is it not?

110. Did you not make it a monopoly opposed to the public interest?

111. The last president of the Eastern Railroad, while you were member of Congress from the Essex District, was named John Wooldredge from Lynn, was he not?

112. He, being an original Free-Soiler from the days when he pounded the lapstone in Marblehead, favored your political aspirations as a most illustrious convert to antislavery doctrines, did he not?

113. You found him the high-cock-o-lorum in all matters pertaining to the Lynn depot, the \$200,000 land purchase, and other iniquities, did you not?

114. You favored his policy, and he favored your election, and gave unlimited free passes to your followers. You scratched his back; and he scratched yours, did he?

115. He was another of your Johns, was he?

116. He was a small man, but became inflated with the idea from you, or your friend Sam Hooper, that he could be president of the Eastern Railroad, and earn the previously unheard of salary of \$20,000 for unravelling the meshes he had helped to tangle, did he not?

117. Did you stand by Wooldredge in his days of trouble when he appeared like the toad in the fable, who attempted to inflate to the size of an ox, and "busted"?

118. You took your heavy fees, and you reaped a large political dividend at the expense of the cash dividends which Wooldredge foolishly promised the stockholders as late as 1875 in an "official statement," and left him to his fate, did you? And you are using that "political dividend" to-day, are you?

119. Is that the usual way you show gratitude when you have no public offices that you can bestow as rewards for private favors?

120. How about Thornton K. Lothrop, the son-in-law of your friend, the late Samuel Hooper,—the boy-president of the Eastern Railroad, under whose management the debt increased \$10,000,000 in four years, with nothing to show for it, but nearly worthless roads in Maine and New Hampshire?

121. Your friend Judge Rice of Maine got \$100 a share for Maine Central stock when it was selling at about \$30, did he?

122. The money came from the Eastern Railroad treasury, did it?

123. Did you help Judge Rice?

124. Was not Lothrop hand and glove with your friend John D. Sanborn, the moiety man?

125. Did Sanborn get the unexplained \$125,000 of Eastern Railroad money with Lothrop's knowledge?

126. Now, is it not true, that, when the Massachusetts Legislature was investigating this matter, Sanborn kept away with you at Washington, and you were ready to help keep him from testifying?—

127. That Lothrop was away in Europe, and reported in bad health, till the affairs of the Eastern Railroad simmered down?—

128. That John Wooldredge was sick (of Eastern Railroad), resigned, and went to California; said he had put his property out of his hands, and finally went before the committee with counsel to defend him?

129. Was there not a tool in all this work, John B. Parker (a nephew of Theodore Parker), the treasurer, who beat the devil around the stump, as if he had been another of your Johns, by paying money from himself as treas-

urer to himself as trustee, to cover out of sight the cheating at which your friends connived, and for which you received political benefits?

130. Now, if Eastern Railroad losses had been treated in 1876 as Fall-River financial irregularities have been treated, would not John Sanborn be in Concord State Prison for the \$125,000 which he admits having taken from the treasury of the Eastern Railroad?

131. Would not John Wooldredge keep him company for malfeasance in office, among other matters buying bonds for himself at 5 per cent less than they were offered to others?

132. Would not Thornton K. Lothrop, and Parker, his tool, be there, and the Eastern Railroad, as well as past Massachusetts Senates, have a delegation in the prison?

133. Now, Benjamin F. Butler, tell us why Sanborn and Wooldredge and Lothrop and Parker are not in Concord prison to-day?

134. Is it not because you are actually as much guilty as they, while you are beyond legal reach, and would defend each and all of them (for big fees), raising all those questions which make railroad iniquities difficult to locate and establish, while manufacturing or banking irregularities may be traced at once as soon as suspicion is awakened?

135. "It takes a rogue to catch a rogue;" and are not you precisely the rogue needed in this Eastern Railroad matter? and are you not *with the rogues* rather than with the people?

136. Do you remember that the sum total of the losses by Chace, Hathaway, Stickney, Durfee, and Paine, amounts to a few hundred thousand dollars, while the Eastern Railroad has suffered losses admitted to be at the very least *five million dollars*?

137. You may tell us of a great Essex-county lawyer, Rufus Choate, who once cleared a notorious criminal charged with, and undoubtedly guilty of, murder, arson, and another crime, on the doubtful plea of somnambulism. You may tell us that two Essex-county sea-captains, Dixey of Marblehead and Pitman of Salem, were led to rob the wrecked bark "Missouri" on the coast of Sumatra of kegs of silver dollars; one saying to the other, "Choate will clear us if the money is found in our boots." And you may tell us of a distinguished writer born in Essex County, Edwin P. Whipple, who has written eulogistic words of his friend Choate; and his "recollections" embrace the Tirrell trial, which he looked upon as a triumph, and added none of the obvious moral reflections. But, Mr. Butler, none of the vile precedents of the bar will be taken by the people of Massachusetts as any justification for your keeping Eastern Railroad rogues out of Concord prison, while the Fall-River criminals languish there. And do you expect they will elect you Governor with such a record?

138. Why, to be consistent, you would pardon Chace and Hathaway and Stickney, and stop the trial of Durfee and the pursuit of Paine, would you not?

139. In 1874 you were badly beaten in the Essex District; and then you came up into the Middlesex District, where you pretended that you were *known*. But do you imagine that if you had been known in Lowell, Mayor Stott and all those others would have "invited" you to become a candidate, notwithstanding all your ingenious importunities?

140. If all the tricks you practised to get that nomination were placed before the people in black and white, do you suppose you would have got 110,000 votes last year?

141. Did you not tell us in 1876, in the letter dated Lowell, Aug. 8, "If it is possible for it to succeed, and if business shall be thereby revived and

the country once more put upon its great career of prosperity and happiness to all its people, *may God speed the day of resumption* " ?

142. Do you now thank God for the day of resumption ?

143. When you were a member of Congress, did you not go into court, and plead cases against the public interest for private gain ?

144. Which did you represent most and best while in Washington, your clients or your constituents ?

145. Why did you abandon the Middlesex District after one term of service ?

146. Was it because free railroad passes had been considerably curtailed ?

147. Was it because there are no custom-houses in the district ?

148. Was it because you could not use the Lowell Railroad as you did the Eastern ?

149. Did one of your fuglemen in gold lace go to the manager of the Lowell Railroad, and ask for free passes for your minions in Boston Custom House to attend your wife's funeral ?

150. Was he refused ?

151. The resolutions passed last year at the Convention of the Middlesex District make it appear that you are *now* well known at home,—your real home ever since your mother took you there when she commenced keeping a boarding-house ; and are they not a faithful portrait of that portion of your career ?

152. Perhaps you found that you were known then, and that it was not prudent to risk another election in the district where you have lived all your life.

153. The resolutions did not mince matters ; but state in plain language that you cheated them in 1876, as some of us knew you were doing at the time. The Essex Republicans say the same of your course to them ten years previously ; and what answer do you make to these grave charges ?

154. Do you mean to suggest that the opinion of these great constituencies whom you have striven to conciliate, and who have rejected you, are of no consequence ?

155. Is Ben Butler every thing, and all the rest of the people of Massachusetts nothing, in your estimation ?

156. You were very audacious in conducting the campaign of 1876 with the Republican party at your back, and you thought you could defy those of us who have proved to be the best Republicans in the district ; but will you never learn that mere impudence will not captivate the solid people of Massachusetts ?

157. Now, Gen. Butler, we will give you an opportunity to soar upon your military renown, and inquire if you wear " Big Bethel " and " Fort Fisher " on your signet-ring, and when you wrote President Grant, did you use paper bearing the legend, " As in a bottle, tightly corked " ?

158. At Fortress Monroe, when you were in command, you were visited by Dr. William H. Russell, correspondent of " The London Times," familiarly known as " Bull-Run Russell," were you not ?

159. In riding out with him, you came to a bridge, which the guard assured you was unsafe ; but you pressed on, and your horse's leg got into the bridge, and barely escaped breaking. Do you know that such little incidents not only showed your unfitness for command, but actually injured our army in the eyes of European critics ?

160. You took Dr. Russell up to one of your private soldiers, and showed him how the contractors were cheating by palming off shoddy when they were paid for cloth. But do you know that you awakened the inquiry, Why

does not Gen. Butler, if he is a true patriot, stop playing soldier, for which in actual war he is manifestly unfitted, and use his detective powers towards purifying every department of the quartermaster-general?

161. Here was a clear case where a rogue was wanted to catch a rogue; but did you catch any?

162. Such a labor might have been less conspicuous; but it would have been more useful than any other work you could have done: for don't you see you could have saved lives instead of losing them?

163. Have you ever estimated the *cost* of your military blunders?

164. Do you think you gained any glory in those controversies you managed to get into with Gov. Andrew?

165. Do you think the people esteem you for them now?

166. At New Orleans you showed your usual contempt for other countries, and contrived to keep up a continual quarrel with the foreign consuls until you were finally removed on that account. Was not this the case?

167. President Lincoln removed you, did he?

168. It was a case of —

"Man, proud man,
Dressed in a little brief authority,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep," —

was it not?

169. Very "brief authority" indeed,— from April to November only, was it?

170. You "couldn't bear success," and slopped over, did you?

171. Or was it that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward and the rest of the cabinet were wrong, and you alone in the right?

172. Why did not Gen. Banks resign when he came to New Orleans to supersede you, and found how badly you had been treated?

173. Now, Gen. Butler, you have been praised a great deal in connection with your residence in New Orleans; but you acknowledge that you were guilty of exasperating and insulting language and action, such as could exist only during the continuance of actual war, do you not?

174. Is not the country suffering to-day from your needless impudence at that time?

175. All the Northern correspondents at New Orleans were ready to serve you, and you them; and thus it was again, "Scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours," was it not?

176. Gen. Grant left no such record in Richmond, or any other Southern city which he commanded; and how do you account for the difference?

177. There can be no doubt that most of the nations of Europe were against us; and were you not continually playing into their hands?

178. Napoleon III. was known to be ready to join England in a recognition of the South, and he sent Maximilian to Mexico, counting on our downfall; and you were picking quarrels with the various consuls, and giving European nations just the pretext they wanted for interference in the Rebellion, were you not?

179. The times were such that a foreign war added to the Rebellion would have been a great calamity; but you were reckless and determined, and finally you were removed: was it not really in disgrace?

180. You received similar checks at other times at Baltimore and Fortress Monroe; but have you not told us that in all these cases it was others who were in the wrong, and that you were always right, and better able to judge than your superiors?

181. Our foreign consuls and our ministers abroad were compelled to hear

many insulting remarks, to which they could make no reply with dignity or the slightest possibility of effect: but they, for the most part, waited patiently; and could not you have shown a like discretion?

182. American travellers in Europe at that time were constantly taunted with the presumed downfall of the Republic; and were not you needlessly supplying material for those taunts?

183. Then, when you returned to Washington, did you not boast that no one could tell you why you had been superseded?

184. Was not the reason because you could not be trusted with a plain statement of the fact?

185. Were you not ready to play the demagogue, and inflame the excitable element among the people always large during a war, and thus embarrass the Government, simply because you were not allowed to have your own way?

186. Did you not repeatedly embarrass the National and State Governments during the war at critical moments?

187. Do you know that such great drawbacks from what admitted good you really accomplished not only gives you little to boast of, but stamps you *as an unsafe man*?

188. Are you aware, Gen. Butler, how one of your orders, applying a New-Orleans ordinance, such as commonly applies to women of the baser sort, to some of the most cultivated ladies in New Orleans, gave great offence in England?

189. Did you not, like Napoleon I., find that a woman's tongue was too much for you?

190. You perhaps remember, that, during the Hungarian rebellion, the Austrian General Haynau gained an unenviable notoriety by whipping women, and that when this general, some time after, visited England, he was mobbed by the laborers at Barclay & Perkins' brewery in London. Now, has not the fear of similar treatment at the hands of Englishmen who sympathized with the ladies of New Orleans kept you away from our English cousins?

191. How is it that, while most Americans that have the means take trips across the Atlantic, you have never corrected, by a personal visit, the crude notions of European governments you have evidently imbibed through prejudice?

192. Ar'n't you a little afraid to go, Benny?

193. Ar'n't you afraid to go South?

194. You talked of doing brave things at the South when you were elected to Congress in 1876; but did you accomplish any thing?

195. Was not that all bluster, and do you not mean now, at the first opportunity, to curry favor with the South?

196. Were you not assured at one time, that, if you would go to England as Grant and Sherman went, you should have the opportunity to address a dinner-party in Liverpool or Birkenhead, the home of John Laird?

197. You declined, did you, leaving the impression that you do not dare to face John Bull?

198. Is not your courage of that stamp which allows others to do the fighting, while you covet the glory, and which enables you to follow up the advantage of an impudent questioner when examining a witness?

199. Is there any instance on record where you have shown a courage of a higher stamp than that of a bully?

200. Have you not been publicly denounced in the newspapers by Gen. George H. Gordon as a liar and a corrupt man?

201. Are not Henry L. Pierce, and many others of the highest respectability, ready to repeat the charge from their own experiences with you?

202. What trick was that you had in Washington to learn the tenor of telegraph messages sent to other members of Congress?

203. Do you commonly practise such tricks?

204. Can we *always* believe what you say?

205. How about the capture of Mechanics' Hall in Worcester last year?

206. Will you tell us of all the methods resorted to to fill up that hall for your conventions there this year?

207. Was it not another instance of your habit of slopping over in the early part of a canvass to go through the form of holding *three* conventions?

208. Suppose a vote was taken in the prisons and county-houses of the State,— would it not stand 19 to 1 for Butler?

209. You approve of the capture of Mechanics' Hall, do you?

210. How, then, if you were elected Governor, could you consistently oppose any other mob?

211. You adopt the rule of the old physician,— “To be well shaken when taken,”— do you?

212. And you usually shake the patient instead of the medicine, do you?

213. And, when allowed, you will shake him to death, will you?

214. Is it not fair to suggest, that, when a man with a mote in his eye applies to you, you will attempt to *shake* it out?

215. Have you ever shown a disposition to sit down quietly, and first take the beam from thine own eye?

216. Now that Fall River has been politically “taken” by your friends, that devoted city has been well shaken by trades-union quarrels, which delight your soul, has it? A little of the shot-gun policy?

217. The Essex District was shaken every two years while you represented it, was it?

218. And San Francisco has been more recently shaken by your chosen methods, has it?

219. Lynn and Natick have been slightly shaken when taken, have they? and has not Marlborough been shaken by a shot-gun policy inaugurated by your friends?

220. Why don't you apply your shaking methods to Lowell? would it disturb your profits from Middlesex mills?

221. You believe it is a good thing to stir up strife between employer and employed when you have only political interests at stake, do you?

222. And what you want is to have a commotion like that at Fall River all over Massachusetts, is it?

223. Haven't you a spite against Fall River as a rival of Lowell?

224. Do you know that a real soldier once said, “Let us have peace”?

225. Benjamin, you have failed as a *taker* at New Orleans and Fort Fisher and Big Bethel, and we have to make the sad record that all through life you have not been a Shaker; but yet you think Massachusetts will be well shaken by you, and perhaps it will *when taken*. But won't you be good enough to wait till you have captured something more than Mechanics' Hall at Worcester?

226. Heretofore you have failed many times to “take” Massachusetts; but it is noticeable that every time you have made a loud noise, as if you were about to *shake* the State?

227. Now, Benjamin, is it not self-evident that you should put yourself in training to become a more “taking” man, and a better Shaker?

228. And then you should remember that the rule may be applied to you

personally. When you came back from New Orleans in disgrace, you had been declared by the rebels an outlaw. Now suppose you had been taken by the "Alabama," and shaken from the yard-arm with a halter about your neck?

229. This has a bad look: but at Acton, in 1876, you were taken in the act of abusing Franklin and Washington, as if they were witnesses in court; and were you not badly shaken?

230. You have told us that newspaper-men are not of much account; for you "can buy any of them for a ninepence." But how is it with lawyers?

231. Can't we buy their services to advocate *any* cause?

232. Isn't Mr. Butler as much for sale as any of them?

233. Are we to rate him any higher in the moral scale because he demands large fees, and is perfectly unscrupulous?

234. DID YOU NOT MAKE AN AGREEMENT LAST YEAR TO PAY "THE BOSTON SATURDAY EXPRESS" \$500?

235. Was not the amount conditional on success?

236. Was only one-half to be paid in case of failure in your election?

237. It sounds nice to name twice the amount you propose to pay, and takes well, does it?

238. But have you paid "The Express" the full moiety?

239. Moiety again! How much remains unpaid?

240. Now, having promised to pay \$500 for the "influence" of "The Express," you still imagine that you can "buy" "The Advertiser" or "The Herald" or "The Journal" for "ninepence," do you?

241. Is that your political wisdom?

242. Do you know that your man McDavitt has caught the trick of charging big fees?

243. Do you know that he does it in cases for poor women?

244. Does your interest in working-men extend to working-women who cannot vote for you?

245. Do you know Margaret McNamee, who appeared not long since at your office in Pemberton Square for counsel and advice?

246. Do you know that Margaret had a claim against the city of Boston for \$1,500, which was allowed, but that she got only \$900, and that McDavitt charged her about \$500 fees?

247. Do you know that he behaved himself so improperly, that, by vote of the Committee on Claims, he was debarred from appearing again before them?

248. Have you debarred McDavitt from representing you in the future either politically or in legal business?

249. Then it looks nicer, does it, to have names like Baker, Simmons, and Usher in politics to work for promises of office, and McDavitt can attend to the poor women's claims and take the big fees, and cater for the Irish vote?

250. Does McDavitt resemble the monkey in the fable, who was a judge, and divided the cheese between two cats?

251. Was there another poor woman with a claim of \$980, which was allowed, and McDavitt charged her \$450?

252. Do you mean to keep up the trades-union strife, or do you favor Rochdale co-operation as a system helpful to working-men?

253. Have you ever made any attempt to give the Sovereigns of Industry a solid footing?

254. Which do you want to accomplish most,—to promote an equitable distribution of the good things of this world, or to get the "good things" yourself, and get elected to public office?

255. Have you ever done any thing to help the farmers of Massachusetts in their struggles, which to some extent resemble the present struggle of the English farmers.

256. Have you lifted your finger to prevent middlemen from using the railroad as a monopoly against the farmer,—say in Essex or Middlesex Counties, which you have represented in Congress?

257. All you wanted was their votes?

258. Do you remember that in 1876 one of your constituents addressed to you a letter stating that the manager of the Lowell Railroad stupidly refused to pay for goods delivered on a written order signed by his predecessor?

259. Did you take any notice of the case, although a poor man was apparently compelled to lose \$50, because the manager alluded to was determined to make the collection cost more than \$50?

260. You did nothing?

261. We poor folks thought you were always ready to take the part of the poor man against the tyranny and extortion of the rich. Is not that what you profess?

262. But do you know that the same claim was afterwards taken to Thomas Talbot and Josiah G. Abbott, and that through their influence it was paid?

263. When it comes down to the practical thing of helping a poor man to his due, are you not simply looking to see how you can help yourself to votes or fees?

264. For real reforms do not the people have to look to the very men whom you are constantly traducing?

265. You say you favor women's suffrage; but have you ever thrown your influence in behalf of farmers' wives to get them a better price for milk and butter?

266. On the contrary, are you not catering to the middlemen near you in Boston?

267. Have you ever made any effort to relieve working-men of Sunday labor?

268. Do you complain that you are made the target of numberless interrogatories?

269. Did you not promise before a meeting at Marlborough in 1876, that, after you got through speaking, you would answer all questions, if you had to "stand there all night"?

270. Did you keep your promise?

271. Did you not attempt to shirk it by saying to a questioner, who called you to account immediately afterwards, that you would answer him *then*, the meeting being dissolved?

272. You didn't mean, then, to answer the questions before the audience, though you gave that impression to your hearers?

273. But, soon after, you were forced to answer questions at Acton, were you?

274. And before the audience?

275. You were compelled to admit, were you, that the breakfast in Paris, the expense of which Franklin charged to the Government, was a diplomatic breakfast?

276. That was one of the links that gave us the French alliance in the Revolutionary war, was it?

277. And you thought you could make it appear like cheating on the part of Franklin, to the inhabitants of a small country town, did you?

278. That was the basis upon which you charged Franklin with corruption to help your ideas on Civil Service Reform, was it?

279. Then you suggested that it was as gross an outrage in Washington to charge the expenses of Martha Washington to Valley Forge (as you say he did, though you have not proved it) as if you had charged the expenses of Mrs. Butler to New Orleans, did you?

280. But were you not forced to admit that the terms of Washington's agreement were that he should charge his expenses?

281. And were not you drawing the pay to which your commission entitled you?

282. Mrs. Butler was then recently deceased, was she?

283. You think it proper to bring forward her name in comparison with Martha Washington, do you?

284. And at such a time, and at an excited political meeting, to give point to your vile attacks upon the fathers of the Republic?

285. You were driven to the wall, and found refuge by calling the questioner a fool, did you?

286. You reminded him that the meeting was yours, and not his, did you?

287. Instead of standing "all night" to answer questions, as you promised to do, you found a few impromptu ones, as many as you wanted, and said you would not stand "a running fire of questions," did you?

288. And then you resorted to abuse, and charged the questioner with a deliberate purpose to "disturb" the meeting, when you were the only one permanently *disturbed*, did you?

289. And you have been disturbed from your seat in Congress, and have since been trying to get another soft place at the expense of the people, have you?

290. Now, Gen. Butler, you come out squarely, and confess that you made the most astounding blunder in regard to the slavery question prior to 1861, do you?

291. How, then, are the people to believe that you have not made an equally astounding blunder in your "greenback theories," which you do not urge quite so strongly since resumption has been accomplished and so successfully?

292. Have you not blundered again in setting yourself up as a reformer?

293. Are there not a few things in Benjamin F. Butler that need reforming?

294. Now, as the people of Massachusetts are going to say to you next November, "Physician, heal thyself," are you in a condition to receive the prescription?

295. Are you not creating all this needless bustle for the sole purpose of getting a better position on the presidential track next year?

296. How many voters do you suppose want you for President besides yourself and those who expect favors at your hands?

Now, do not attempt to answer one or two of these questions, and answer them at your own time and in your own way. The challenge sent you in 1876 to hold a meeting for the purpose is still good, and you can have an opportunity to keep your promise "if it takes all night;" and, you may depend upon it, it will.

Gen. Butler, you can now step down and out, though you may not realize how completely you are out (of pocket), until November, 1880. Go, and sin no more; and, that you may be the more free from temptation, the people of Massachusetts will kindly excuse you from serving them as Governor for the present.

2 More Nuts for Butler to Crack !

[Extracts from Third Edition.]

Last year Butler sought to control the ship of state, though after election he found he had only been swinging from the Davitts. Our Chief Butler and Chief Baker are again doomed to disappointment as bitter as per-Simmons, and in November will take French leave for a Long stay in a Salem and Lowell Eddy, under A-dam(s) up Salt River. Butler's audacity seldom fails him, however, and he proposes to be ushered into the office of Governor as a mere stepping-stone to the presidency of the United States. Mr. Butler's response to the two hundred and ninety-six interrogatories in the first edition has not been satisfactory, and as we are unwilling to take his stump speeches as a sufficient answer, we must again call him to the witness stand.

Now Mr. Butler

1. Was an order passed in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, January 13th, 1862, requesting the Governor to communicate the "correspondence relating to the Department of New England?"
2. Was this Department created at your request, and the command given to you, by order of the War Department, dated Sept. 10th, 1861?
3. Previous to this had there been irregularities in recruiting?
4. Was not this Department of New England simply an effort on your part to continue and combine previous irregularities in recruiting for your own purposes, regardless of the best interests of the Commonwealth?
5. Did you not propose and actually commence recruiting new regiments, when several others were in progress and struggling to gain recruits?
6. Were you not placed "under the orders of the Governors" of the States over which your command extended?
7. Were not Generals Thomas W. Sherman and Ambrose E. Burnside at that time expecting Massachusetts troops previously promised to them?
8. Did you not enter into active competition for the opportunity to make your own choice of troops for your special desires?
9. In this were you not persistently opposing the wishes of both the War Department and Governor Andrew?
10. And at a critical moment?
11. This course was steadily pursued by you for three or four weeks, till, in answer to a request from you for an interview, Gov. Andrew stated, October 7, 1861, over the signature of "Thomas Drew, Ass't Mil. Sec'y," "the pressure upon his time," and asked you to write him at 71 Charles Street, the same evening, and he would reply to it before morning, did he not?
12. This was perfectly proper and respectful, was it?
13. But did you not thereupon send the following to the State House?

"AT OFFICE, October 8, 1861,
10 A. M. {

"General Butler received His Excellency's note at this hour, which renders it almost impossible to prepare a written statement of the matter of communication.

"A personal interview of five minutes would, in his judgment, conduce to the public service, and save explanation much more formal in writing.

"If Gov. Andrew has any reasons personal to General Butler for not desiring an interview (of which he is not aware) of course the interview is not desirable."

14. The above was sent without signature or address, but is in your handwriting, and presumably is now on file at the State House, is it?
15. Was it a proper thing for you to make the insinuation in the last paragraph?
16. Was not the insinuation promptly repelled by Gov. Andrew?

17. And did it not appear that the business which you thus thrust forward at the time of meetings of the Executive Council and other imperative business, was simply that you wanted an office for yourself and staff at the State House?

18. It afterwards appeared that you claimed "co-ordinate" powers with Gov. Andrew, did it?

19. And this claim was put forward in a letter dated December 19th, 1861, signed "George C. Strong, A. A. General and Chief of Staff," using the words "by General Butler himself as claiming to be your Excellency's co-ordinate."

20. Then you wanted to have as much (and most likely more) control at the State House than Governor Andrew, did you?

21. Was not this an insult to the people before whom you had been presented for the second time as a Democratic candidate for Governor only the November before, and received but 6,000 votes, when Governor Andrew was for the first time a candidate, and most triumphantly elected?

22. Will you try to explain the function of our Massachusetts Adjutant General, in case you had been allowed to have an office in the State House as Commander of the Department of New England?

23. Your requests were refused, were they, both for the interview and the office?

24. Did you not address Governor Andrew again, October 12th, 1861, beginning as follows?

"Will 'His Excellency Governor Andrew' assign to General Butler the recruitment of a regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers and a squadron of mounted men, to be armed and equipped by him under the authority of the President, the officers to be selected by General Butler, but commissioned by 'His Excellency,' with, of course, a veto power upon what may be deemed an improper selection. As these officers are to go with General Butler upon duty, would 'His Excellency' think it improper that he should exercise the power of recommendation."

"To the telegram of the President, asking consent that the authorization should be given to General Butler to raise troops, 'His Excellency' telegraphed in reply that he would 'aid' General Butler to the utmost.

"General Butler knows of no way in which 'His Excellency' can aid him so effectually as in the manner proposed.

25. Did the letter contain the following sentences:—

"The selection by 'His Excellency' in advance, &c.

"General Butler would have been happy to have conferred with 'His Excellency' upon these and other points, but 'His Excellency' did not seem to desire it."

And also:—

"'His Excellency' will perceive the impossibility of at once furnishing a roster under such circumstances, as requested, for 'His Excellency's' perusal. 'His Excellency's' attention is called to the fact that no reply has been received to General Butler's request, as to a squadron of mounted men."

26. And did this letter conclude as follows?

"General Butler trusts that 'His Excellency' will not, without the utmost necessity for it, throw any obstacles in the way of his recruitment, as General Butler is most anxious to get his Division organized so as to start upon an expedition already planned in the service of his country.

"General Butler hopes that these views will meet 'His Excellency's' concurrence and co-operation.

"Most respectfully, 'His Excellency's' obedient servant,

"BENJAMIN F. BUTLER."

27. Do you know that these quotations contain "His Excellency" repeated no less than fourteen times?

28. Was not such repetition of the constitutional title of the Governor simply an expression of contempt for the office which you had then tried twice to obtain and failed?

29. Was it done for any other conceivable purpose than to insult your superior, Governor Andrew?

30. Suppose I should demand the \$2,000 due me as the reward you publicly offered, in a letter in which "Mr. Butler" or "The General" or "Ben," or any other words I might choose to apply, were fourteen times repeated in quotations in a letter of moderate length, would you not be quick to use that as a reason for the delay and unaccountable manner you have assumed in the matter of the reward?

31. Then why did you *twice* assume the third person, after the manner of dinner invitations, in addressing the Governor on matters of business, if it were not for the sole purpose of insult?

32. And why did you once omit your signature altogether, and again sign your name only, *not* as Major General, or, with the usual addition of rank or command?

33. And yet by General Order No. 78, dated "Washington, September 16th, 1861," you were placed under the orders of the Governor, were you?

34. Then you were guilty of insubordination and insult to your superiors, were you?

35. You had the audacity to make irregular enlistments, did you when you could not get the permission you wanted, trusting for immunity from consequences to the excited condition of the country?

36. You placed the families of these men in doubt on the matter of State aid, did you?

37. Your biographer, Mr. James Parton, attempted to exculpate you in some degree for this, by saying that you offered your private financial guarantee to replace those of the State, did he?

38. And you sent troops out of the Commonwealth without the knowledge or consent of the Governor, did you?

39. You set yourself up in defiance of the laws, did you?

40. Was it not your solemn duty as a citizen to obey the laws, and did you not as a soldier take oath to render respect and obedience to your superiors?

41. Did you not, on the sixth of November, 1861, address a very brief note to Gov. Andrew, containing 'His Excellency' no less than four times, when you know that custom and good taste alike require the avoidance of such repetition?

42. After these great breaches of official propriety, did you not once show great irritation because a certain letter to you contained the signature of the Military Secretary, when you thought it should have been signed by the Governor?

43. Did you not go so far as to return that letter?

44. Then the address of that letter did not please you, and were you not

"Uncertain, coy, and hard to please?"

45. Did you not knowingly omit to follow your own rule immediately after, and plead that it was inconvenient because you wanted to go out of town?

46. Governor Andrew wrote to Washington, December 27th, 1861, complaining of your "insubordinate action," did he?

47. Did you not attempt to make it appear that Governor Andrew was a United States soldier?

48. Did you not base this upon a brief statement in an almost unknown publication?

49. You sent to Gov. Andrew a certificate signed by the editor of that publication, did you?

50. Now, was this editor one of the class to whom you recently referred, as reported in the *Globe*, as "impecunious editors who publish libels, and have no property at all?"

51. Is not this incident simply beneath contempt, as looked upon today; and yet you used it in 1861, as supporting your claim to be "co-ordinate" with Gov. Andrew. Is that so?

52. Suppose you had been captured by the rebels, after you were declared by them an outlaw, would Jefferson Davis have allowed you to be hung?

53. Did not Governor Andrew charge that you "afforded means" to

persons of bad character to make money unscrupulously, and encouraged men whose unfitness had excluded them from any appointment?

54. How is it that Col. French and yourself came out of the war very wealthy, when others were not at all enriched?

55. Have you helped French, in his business as a distiller, to escape internal revenue charges?

56. You scratch his back, and he scratches yours, do you?

57. You have included a *contract for guns*, in a bill to promote the homestead laws, have you?

58. You mixed the funds in your hands as Treasurer of the Soldiers' Homes with your private bank account, and then called it your "private affairs," did you?

59. The balances were fifteen times against you, and three times in your favor, were they?

60. In a single instance \$1,651.61 of interest accrued which you kept as a "private affair," did you?

61. What does the New York Tribune mean by "fugitive coat tails," in this Sanborn matter?

62. You were on Sanborn's bail bond when he was arrested in Brooklyn, were you?

63. Have not your partisans this year voted against an economical policy?

64. They voted to grant free passes to all members of the Legislature, did they?

65. The announcement of "Nuts for Butler to Crack," disturbed you, did it?

66. You will give two thousand dollars reward for a responsible endorsement, will you?

67. When?

68. When it was offered, was not your back-down most complete and inglorious?

69. Do you imagine you can escape from your public promises by bluff?

70. You say you are accused of wrecking the Eastern Railroad, but will you point out any such accusation?

71. And will you tell us what your friend John Sanborn, did with the \$125,000 he took from that company?

72. Do you know that on a certain occasion application was made to Jeremiah Prescott, Superintendent of the Eastern Railroad, for a free pass, and the party was told he must go to John Sanborn?

73. Will you please define John Sanborn's relations to the Eastern Railroad and to you?

74. You charge me with libel in the form of interrogation, and use that form yourself for libellous statements, do you not?

75. I notice that you insist that my property is under guardianship?

76. Now, it is a shame that such a great and good man should be deceived, is it not?

77. I have lived long in Salem, but your shrewd Attorney-General Northend certainly did not mislead you, did he?

78. Was it a small and insignificant lawyer?

79. Or was it one between the two, Nath'l J. Holden?

80. It is gratifying that you recognize me as a man of property, and as one having the manliness to put my name to my pamphlet, but could you not couch it in a little better language?

81. When a gentleman has invested his time and strength in acquiring an education, you style him an "impecunious editor with no property at all," do you?

82. Are there any such on the Globe or Express?

83. I am told that the Express denies having received \$500 or \$250 from you, but does not deny receiving money, which was the charge, and will you be good enough to tell us the meaning of a statement signed by your private secretary, and endorsed on a letter from young Mrs. Morgan, that *one hundred dollars* was paid the senior Morgan just before he went to Florida?

Mr. Butler, the examination is concluded; and already we see the handwriting on the wall, Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.